I.

A SHORT DEFENCE OF THE WAR:

AND

REVIEW OF OUR PRESENT SITUATION.

Addressed to the plain Sense of Irishmen of all Denominations.

IN OPPOSITION TO THE CROAKINGS OF DISCONTENTED MEN.

BY A MODERATE OBSERVER.

Nec lex est æquior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

Enslav'd by faction, many have I seen
Courting *Reform*—as their earthly Queen.
Longing with pious zeal, to see the day
When social ties and Kings shall quite decay:
When Civil War shall arm each miscreant's hand,
And fierce *Rebellion* desolate the land.
Inflate with arrogance, and high in pride,
These talk, *Reform*—while Discord is their guide.
Let such look back to France—for there, they know,
Arm'd Equality spares not friend or foe.

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A

SHORT DEFENCE, &c.

AT this criſis of the political, as well as military campaign, when ſplenetic diſcontented men are buſy in ſpreading gloomy apprehenſions abroad, and aiming to prove us in a worſe condition than we really are, I beg leave to claim the public attention to a few plain obſervations. I own myſelf unequal to the taſk I have undertaken, but I truſt every good man will commend the intention, whatever he may think of the execution. In time of danger, none ſhould refuſe the aid of their labours for the public good, and perhaps from the imperfect ſketch I offer, ſome more able pen may be induced to enter upon a work better adapted to the dignity of the ſubject. However haſtily penned, I ſtill hope that every reader will find ſomewhat of information worth the trouble of peruſal—there is none of ſo little importance in life, but that he may contribute a ſhare to the advantage of the ſociety he lives in; and as long as *faction* will be privately at work to miſrepreſent and miſlead, it is

every man's duty to endeavour to detect their ſchemes, to undeceive the public, and lead them into the ways of truth.

In the following pages, I truſt I have ſelected ſuch obſervations as will ſerve to quiet the apprehenſions of the timid, as well as to damp the haughty inſolence of thoſe, who from a miſtated conſideration of events, may be miſled into an opinion of our weakneſs or incapacity, not only to meet another campaign, but alſo to ſubdue the foe. As to the ſums neceſſary to carry on a juſt and neceſſary warfare, I am confident in the wiſdom of the Legiſlature, that they will be raiſed with very little additional burden to the bulk of the people, while the luxuries of life, in which the poorer claſſes have no concern, offer ample *ways and means* to our experienced ſtateſmen. The moſt *jaundiced reformer* will allow that as the raiſing the ſupplies is of the moſt neceſſary concern, ſo will it be the chief care of Miniſters to *tax* only where it may be moſt eaſily borne. To thoſe envious ſpirits who would inſinuate that all our proſperity and extenſive commerce is but a tinſel glare, a falſe luſtre; who with malignant grin, tell us of our great debt and decreaſe of credit, I will reply that the ſtrength and power of Britain was never greater; that early in the ſpring we ſhall have fleets of men of war and troops acting in every quarter of the globe, ſuperior to all other nations; and that the advantages of colonial acquiſitions will large-

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ly outbalance all our expenditures by ſea and land. To obviate the malevolent reflection that "the latter part of the year has been attended with many calamities," I have ſhewn how ſafe our trade has gone on in every quarter: I have proved that the extraordinary charge of equipping ſo many ſhips of war has been made up by the ſecurity of our commerce, and by the ruin of the trade of our rival in naval power, the French—by which meaſures, we ſhall hold compleat dominion of the ocean, extend our trade every where, and lay the foundation of a vaſt future profit. I have endeavoured to point out, that though late events have been unfavourable, we have almoſt in all our wars with France ſuſtained heavy loſſes for the firſt and even ſecond year—our trade was at thoſe periods in a great meaſure a prey to the enemy, and the capture of merchandize only amounted to many millions—yet under theſe diſadvantages of commerce, ſuperadded to the failure of many important expeditions, the ſpirit of the nation was not ſunk—new exertions, freſh expeditions reſtored the Britiſh laurel, and the *rouſed lion* poured his thunders to the moſt diſtant ſhores, and reduced France to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace at almoſt our own conditions.

Though our loſſes and diſappointments at thoſe times were alarming, yet the ſubſequent glory and ſucceſs of our conduct diſſipated the momentary gloom, laid the foundations

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of our prosperity, and removed any apprehension we might have had of a *visit* from our ancient enemy. Our wars have been always carried on with greater vigour after discomfiture, and of necessity this very circumstance rendered our expences greater—but the more frequent our discomfiture, and the greater the expence has been, the more to be admired are the means of recovering ourselves—our eventual success has always proved the extent of our resources, the richness of our native products, our indefatigable industry and application to commerce—and all together shews such vigour of constitution that nothing can ever hurt us but ourselves.

Here I may be asked to produce proofs of what I have advanced. I will go no farther back to shew the truth of my assertion, than to the operations of 1756 and beginning of 1757. The circumstances and situation of our national concerns were during those years reduced to a low ebb indeed. Our fleets, far from scouring the seas and annoying the enemy in their ports, had basely fled before them; the fortress of Mahon and island of Minorca were taken; our troops were defeated in North America; and which side soever you looked upon our affairs, they bore a melancholy and distressed aspect. The national reputation lost, the honour of the navy basely given up, with repeated calamities in America, had extinguished the ardour, damped the confidence of the country, and our national

nal virtue and bravery ſeemed palſied—there was then hardly ſpirit enough left, even to hope that matters might be recovered, ſuch was the dejection that reigned univerſally.

At that criſis of misfortune, diſmay and defeat, the father of the preſent Premier (immortal Chatham) came into adminiſtration. His firſt ſtep was the ſame which his immaculate ſon is now purſuing, viz. to inſult the coaſt of France with a great armament; which alarmed the whole country, and employed an immenſe body of men in different parts of the coaſt, to watch their motions, and be prepared for the deſcent: —This, though not carried into execution, made ſuch a diverſion as the French in other quarters felt ſeverely the effect of; as from that period, the rapidity of their ſucceſſes began to receive the firſt check, by the effect of this powerful diverſion, and by cauſing a recal of part of their armies in Germany to their internal defence. Armament ſucceeded armament; expedition followed expedition; and in the Eaſt as in the Weſt Indies, in Africa and in America, our operations were as glorious and important as the commencement of the war had been unpromiſing and deſtructive. The people ſaw with pleaſure a firmneſs and conſtancy in the Miniſter to purſue what he knew was right, with vigour and reſolution; expence was not regarded; the bold appearance of our naval ſtrength along the enemy's coaſts, the ruin of their trade,

trade, our conquests in distant quarters gave new life and spirit to the nation, and banished those apprehensions which had grown out of past ill successes. And here I will ask, have we not the strongest reason to trust that the same wisdom and energy, that animated the undertakings of the *father*, and raised the nation from despondency to victories, will crown with success the prudent plans of the *son*, and bring the war to a happy issue?—Yes, from the partial check our arms have received, our able statesman will come forward with fresh energy and success: the manly comprehensive view he ever takes of the true interests of Britain has pointed to him where the enemy's weakness lies, where he can act with effect, and where an impression can easiest be made upon them; where he may hazard least and where the enemy must suffer most.

Yes, I will aver that the son nobly follows the steps of his illustrious father.—Have we not a confessed superiority at sea? Though prudence forbids our exposing the home fleets to the dangers of winds and seas at this tempestuous season, we may be assured they will not be long inoperative. Have we not already almost half destroyed or taken their squadrons? Have we not insulted their coasts, blocked up their harbours, demolished their commerce, and taken many of their settlements? Do we not see such derangement and confusion in their internal government—

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ſuch revolutions in their repreſentative body —ſuch ſuperſeding of miniſters and generals —ſuch ſuſpicion of each other in councils as diſcover their terrors, even amidſt the boaſted ſucceſs of the moment?

Thus by looking to the wiſdom of our councils, the vigour of our operations, the integrity of our Premier, we have the ſtrongeſt grounds to hope a ſeries of victories in the courſe of the enſuing campaign. Surely we cannot fear that the abilities, joined to experience, which has enabled the Miniſter to provide for the good government, glory and proſperity of his country in the "piping times of peace," will all at once deſert him in the proſecution of a war, which all virtuous and good men approve and confirm.

Have we not ſeen the firſt characters in the nation, hoſtile to his adminiſtration in other reſpects, confeſſing the neceſſity of the war, and coaleſcing with him in the meaſures of national ſecurity and domeſtic quiet?—Have we not ſeen Members of the Oppoſition of the firſt oratory, forced by the irreſiſtible influence of his eloquence to applaud and ſupport, before they departed the Houſe of Commons, what perhaps they came to oppoſe and condemn? What muſt be the force of that integrity and addreſs, that could make men drop not only their *oppoſition* but their *attachments*—let go, not only their deſigns but their animoſities—forget, not only their prejudices but their intereſts? Have we not

ſeen tongues, long in habits of party, ſtruck dumb by his argument, and only reſuming the power of ſpeech, in order to give all the weight and aſſiſtance which a war of ſuch imminent neceſſity requires from every real friend of his country.

'Tis not in England only, but alſo in Ireland we happily find the firſt characters of the Oppoſition yielding to ſound reaſon and conviction, confeſſing the neceſſity of the war, joining their talents, in uniſon with the knowledge and eloquence which diſtinguiſh the members of adminiſtration, and all employed for the good of the country.—The very meaſures of ſeverity, which a fatality of circumſtances rendered neceſſary, are ſolely directed to the ſalvation and intereſt of the public weal; for where lenity and proſperity will not open the eyes and enlighten the underſtanding; where men ſeem ſo loſt, as rather to endanger the precious and valuable privileges and commercial advantages which an active Government brings forward and eſtabliſhes in their behalf; where clubs of hot-headed individuals go ſo far, as to wiſh our own national efforts to prove ineffectual, and the power of France to become irreſiſtible. Surely ſuch falſe prejudices, ſuch dangerous maxims, demand, not reprehenſion only, but the utmoſt chaſtiſement. It is certainly lamentable in a moment of national emergency to behold men among us (who have knowledge and ability in other reſpects commendable)

commendable) running after a phantom of popularity, and boasting that for patriotism, which serves only to varnish over designs not the most laudable, or as a specious covering to self-love and private interest. The ability of such men is so far from profitable, that it is rather a dangerous engine; and their knowlege is worse than ignorance, because badly applied—as Livy has it:

> Optimis ingeniis male usi—
> Et facundi malo publico.

Let us now turn our thoughts on the present state of things in our own country, and examine how the account stands with ourselves, without passion or party.

"It is astonishing that, in a country like Ireland, whose constitution is fast improving, where the powers of the state are so judiciously distributed; where the King and his people are bound by the most endearing and reciprocal ties,—faction should dare to raise her head, and men look only to the few defects, while they obstinately shut their eyes on the numerous advantages of Government. Surely, while we see Parliament employed to countenance the husbandman, to encourage the merchant, to occupy the mechanic, to promote trade, and to govern by excellent laws, we must pronounce the people happy and free, if they have wisdom to enjoy peaceably their advantages."

Such were the observations of a sensible foreigner not long since, at a public dinner in

this city. Let us weigh well the truth of what this intelligent obſerver advanced. It is not very long ſince we emerged from a kind of dependance into conſtitutional liberty. Manly conceſſion on the part of Great Britain, generous and grateful affection on the part of Ireland, have linked the nations together indiſſolubly. From the completion of that maſter-piece of independence and connection, what progreſs have we not made in commerce and manufactures, in arts and ſciences? With goods of home manufacture we not only ſupply ourſelves, but export conſiderable quantities; in a moment of difficulty ſeveral of our chief traders were on the point of failing; the Government, as ſoon as informed of the diſtreſs, came forward to ſupport them by large loans: a glorious example of beneficence, which ought to make an indelible impreſſion on the public mind. We ſee agriculture encouraged by bounties, and our lands daily improving in value as in produce; we have abundant fiſheries along our coaſts, which by recent regulations and encouragement will become a ſource of national wealth and a nurſery of good ſeamen.—Nobody is ignorant of the rich mines of our country, which the conveyance of our canals will ſpeedily bring to market at eaſy rates. Have we not the whole of the advantageous trade of proviſions, for the land and ſea ſervice; and are not theſe branches the moſt important and lucrative to our ſouthern and

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weſtern provinces? Need I mention the Grand Canal and others rapidly advancing, greatly to the advantage of commerce, and running through many fruitful counties and improving towns of the kingdom? Surely ſuch works, ſuch improvements do honour to the preſent Government, and ought to conſecrate their names to poſterity? Surely ſuch rapid progreſs and proſperity within a ſhort lapſe of time cannot fail to make a deep impreſſion on us all, if we are not blinded by prejudice and faction, and dead to our dereſt intereſts as men and chriſtians.

"Were I to give my own private opinion of this nation," added the foreigner above-mentioned, "I ſhould count it at this period amongſt the moſt happy in Europe, if purged of a few malcontents: as I daily witneſs in the governors the moſt effectual meaſures for the happineſs of the governed, and the advancement of national induſtry." Is it not then ſingular, that we who inhabit this country, and *thrive with its thriving*, are not ſenſible of our own comforts, but ſuffer an ungenerous ſpirit, a narrow way of thinking, and unprovoked diſcontents to ſully our gratitude and obſcure the luſtre of our freedom? Is it neceſſary to enumerate further inſtances of our flouriſhing condition? Look to the magnificence of our public and private buildings---to the luxury of our tables and furniture ---to the coſtly equipages and horſes of our trading men. See them contending who

ſhall

ſhall adorn their houſes in town and country with moſt finery; who ſhall entertain moſt ſumptuouſly and ſport moſt money at cards and dice.—I believe, if we conſider fairly, we ſhall find the means of doing all this flow to us from the advantages of our trade and manufactures, through the influence of a mild protecting government: If we go a ſtep further and examine ourſelves, we ſhall find perhaps that this very proſperity and increaſing wealth is the cauſe of our high-mettled politics, and ill-grounded croakings.

Here I will pauſe, and ſeriouſly call on my countrymen, to reflect on the comparative bleſſings they enjoy; and not ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by groſs and unfounded ſlanders againſt their rulers. Far be it from me to rail or point at individual zealots, or to imitate the diſpoſition of ſome porter-houſe enthuſiaſts, who by their diſcourſes and exclamations expoſe their abſurd zeal, reprobating moderate principles, drinking confuſion and damnation to eſtabliſhed governments, (a well known and frequent practice at certain houſes) exciting by their republican bigotry more of pity than of reſentment, in the moderate obſerver of ſuch follies. Theſe proceedings may inflame vulgar minds and raiſe up a ſpirit of turbulence: but the actors in ſuch ſcenes ſhould reflect, becauſe they know and have been taught better, that were violence and civil war to overwhelm the land, while they think only to ſpite, injure, and

overthrow

overthrow the conſtitution, they would infallibly deſtroy themſelves—becauſe property, not principle, is the leading motive of action with the rude multitude. The outrages of a mob, once let looſe upon a country, are not reſtrainable by conſideration of perſons, and generally recoil on the heads of the firſt promoters of diſcord. We may lament the neceſſity of ſeverity in certain late inſtances, and feel for the ſufferers: but if the ſpirit in which ſome men have ſpoken of the exiſting legiſlature, which they have been pleaſed to call *oppreſſors of the people*, provokes ſevere reflections, they have none to blame but themſelves—out of their own mouths we may judge *modern reformers*; if virulent reflexions on the religion and government of the country were not calculated to inflame men's minds, it is difficult to ſay what was their tendency: for truth is not promoted by furious zeal or violence of any kind.

The people of Ireland have honeſt plain underſtandings, and before they commit themſelves to any haſty, intemperate plans of *reform*, they will not fail to think on the many murders and enormities that muſt be hazarded in the exchange—they find the conſtitution, as it is, healthy and thriving—they have a body of regular phyſicians to amend and reſtore it, where impaired; and they therefore reject all the applications of over-officious quacks, and wiſh each and every of the empirical tribe would mind their own buſi-

neſs—

neſs—*ne ſutor ultra crepidum.* It is high time for every one of us, who thrive by our induſtry and trade, and enjoy a peaceful fireſide, and comfortable family, to make the caſe of unhappy France our own; and be thankful that the horrors have not been extended to *our happy homes*, which continue to deſolate and overwhelm that diſtracted country. One reflexion occurs here very forcibly; that the principal advocates for innovation *there* (I had almoſt ſaid among ourſelves alſo) are involved in the confuſion and maſſacres, which evil men would have plunged us into, to accompliſh their deſigns. As the ſacred writings expreſs it, "their miſchief has returned upon their own head, and their violent dealing is come down upon their own pate."

I will here take occaſion to addreſs a few lines to the Catholic people of this country: I will caution them to value rightly the bleſſings of conſtitutional liberty, to place a generous reliance on their Sovereign, and haſten to ſupport his crown and dignity with all their powers. "If you, my countrymen, re-
"gard not my advice becauſe unknown to
"you, liſten at leaſt with attention to the
"gentle heaven-deſcending admonitions of
"your clergy."

The learned and pious prelates of your perſuaſion have ſhewn a diſpoſition and example worthy of imitation; they have openly and ſtrongly expreſſed their abhorrence of all diſobedience to the laws: they have painted in

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proper colours the horrors which an *atheiſtical faction* have brought upon a neighbouring kingdom—they have in the language of heart-felt gratitude, expreſſed to the beſt of Kings their earneſt zeal in ſupport of chriſtian ſubordination throughout their ſeveral diſtricts. Like true paſtors and guardians of the flock, they wiſh to preſerve you from the contagion of evil example, from the ſnares of wicked men, from ſcenes of tumult, *which alas! produced not long ſince ſuch bitter fruits* in many diſtricts. They wiſh to explain and impreſs on your minds, the extent and value of the benefits conferred by a wiſe legiſlature, and to inſpire you therefore with a reſpectful confidence in your Sovereign, and a due reſignation to the precepts of that divine redeemer, "all whoſe ways are pleaſantneſs, all whoſe paths are peace."—Your biſhops, like kind protectors, warn you (if any have been guilty of indiſcretion, by ſuffering themſelves to be ſeduced into an intercourſe with diſaffection) to ſpurn the dangerous intimacy of turbulent ſpirits, and cling to the friends of the conſtitution. They counſel you, by their *dignified and loyal addreſs*, to reflexion and virtue, becauſe their deſire is to ſnatch you from the *tyranny of evil counſellors*, by opening to your view the ſolid and tranquil benefits of legal government.

Warned by good counſel, elevated by that freedom, which diſtinguiſhes the happineſs of Iriſhmen from all the other ſubjects in the

world, ſurely every man will feel his heart glow with native fire, with a ſpur of reputation and glory, that will aſpire after the means of doing ſubſtantial ſervice to his King and country, and defeating the projects and inſolence of a haughty foe: every individual ſhould be fired with an honeſt ambition, ſeize the opportunity of proving his zeal and fidelity in the public cauſe, and haſten to *take the field* with thoſe brave fellows and countrymen who are already oppoſing the enemy by ſea and land, with manly fortitude and bravery, and who will not fail to return home, crowned with honour and well earned laurels.

Muſt it not raiſe our indignation to reflect, that many among us with all the benefits of fortune, of proſperous trade, and flattering proſpects of opulence from induſtry, are not aſhamed to contravene every fair ſtatement of our affairs—but with all the cunning and perverſeneſs of men, who regard not the ſecurity of property, nor the comfort and tranquillity of their families, go about to miſrepreſent and traduce the government under which they live and thrive abundantly.—Strange violation of all that is ſacred and obligatory in ſociety! to behold ſubjects of a mild and generous Monarch abandoning themſelves wantonly to diſcontent, running into private cabals, and uniting in deſigns deſtructive to their own domeſtic happineſs, tending to perplex and diſturb the national

councils,

councils, and to introduce a ſyſtem of *fraternizing* anarchy, turbulence and blood.—Away w th ſuch evil diſpoſitions, jealouſies, and ill will to our rulers! away with all affected popularity and pretended patriotiſm! let all unite in cordial affection and ſupport of the common cauſe, to turn away from *our own peaceable homes* thoſe diſaſtrous ſcenes of murder and pillage, which deſolate unhappy France—'tis only by unanimity and exertion of our ſtrength, that we ſhall be able to arreſt the progreſs of Gallic bloodhounds, compel them to give peace to the nations, and eſtabliſh the ſeveral intereſts of Europe on a permanent baſis.

Before I proceed further, I muſt beg leave haſtily to trace the ſources from which the preſent anarchy, atheiſm and infidelity ſprung throughout France. It is well known that where religion and ſubordination ceaſe, anarchy and barbariſm ariſe. Long before the revolution, there were many odd opinions held in France, and being a whimſical, light people, 'tis ſcarcely matter of wonder that from the looſe examples of many of the higher orders, they ſhould have fallen from religious attachment into an oppoſite extreme—we lament the degeneracy, but muſt alſo in ſome meaſure condemn the ſupineneſs of government, which took no pains to ſuppreſs evil examples: the groſs corruptions of a numerous body of the clergy called aloud for reformation; and though the times of

burning, perſecuting and harraſſing men for freedom of opinion was paſt, yet were the fulminating powers of the papal chair ſtill ſupported by the civil power—taking theſe points into conſideration, we may infer that next to the continuance of the chriſtian ſyſtem, the reformation of it from its numerous abuſes muſt have been the greateſt bleſſing to the nation, and which all good men wiſh had been regularly effected. But though begun by the Monarch with gracious intent, yet having been carried on with precipitation, and hurried not only without, but againſt the conſent of legal authority, the world beholds with horror the monſtrous abortion, attempted to be ſubſtituted in its place.

The diſſipation and immorality among many orders of the church, may have been the ſtrong pretences of the firſt movers of the revolution—but what do we now ſee? barbariſm foiſted on the wreck of chriſtianity: the ſpoils of the altar, the property of the church are become the *ſweet bait*, that tempts not only moſt of the laity but many degenerate clergymen, to ruſh into infidelity; each hoping a ſhare in the general plunder, in proportion to his ſcorn of all religious decorum and probity.

However good, however neceſſary the original revolution-principles were, the manner in which they were propagated could not, was not likely to reconcile them to a Monarch, whom after his acceptance of a limited conſtitution,

ſtitution, which offered happineſs to the nation, the *reformers* of the *new ſchool* treated with the utmoſt inſolence—they would not allow his original juriſdiction and authority; and did not attempt ſo much to lead as to drive him into all their furious meaſures.

No legal eſtabliſhment could long be pleaſing to thoſe who ſought to ſet the world in a flame; ſucceſſive reformers who longed to riot on the lands and ornaments of the church, were afraid that ſufficient would not be left to fill their ſacrilegious ſtomachs, and coming in rotation, *red hot* into conſequence, each in turn haſtened to blow up the coals, and to proclaim among the deluded people that all religious reſtraints or reſtrictions were unlawful, papal and diabolical. Thus the turbulent and diſcontented among the vulgar became the tools of factious conventioniſts, who graſped at office and authority, by a furious and inſolent uſurpation overturned all order, and at length confirmed and enlarged their own powers beyond any control of the people. Thus they got rid of a mild and beneficent Monarch, who was a lover and promoter of the hierarchy; but who proved himſelf ever ready (none will dare deny it) to co-operate with his people in correcting abuſes of church and ſtate.

It is certainly worthy of ſerious remark, to all who are ſincerely attached to the chriſtian diſpenſation, that in France, as in England in her days of convulſion and diſcord,

cord, with the monarchy, the church alſo is ſunk and ruined for the moment, and the miniſters of her altars ſcattered abroad. In either country a furious fanaticiſm, and deep hypocriſy was employed, alternately to flatter, cajole and threaten, an unthinking people into blind acquieſcence under the moſt ſanguinary mandates of arbitrary rule: the moſt virtuous in either nation were proſcribed, purſued and exterminated, with mock forms of juſtice—plots and conſpiracies conjured up, to implicate and overwhelm the peaceable and well diſpoſed, and to irritate and inflame the maſs of the people to bloodſhedding and cruelties, by jealouſies and ſuſpicion, as if deſpotiſm with additional oppreſſions was to be introduced, and the papal power with its odious inquiſition raiſed even beyond its former grandeur and influence. Theſe are the malignant inſinuations and goblin conjectures, by which the people were miſled, and became the ready agents and ſlaves to the vileſt tyranny and enthuſiaſm.—In the caſe of England, death at laſt pulled off the maſk, and the world ſaw the hypocriſy and deluſion, the haughtineſs and murderous oppreſſion that lurked under it; and found nſtead of a generous protector and repreſentative of heaven, they had got only an exterminating tyrant, the factor of deſtruction.

In France a convention, haſtily choſen, packed by a crafty and deſigning faction, and

continued

continued by their own coercive power, thunder out their *philoſophic anathemas* againſt all who will not wade with them through blood and deſolation—they make and unmake decrees at the whim of party—they appoint and depoſe miniſters and generals from day to day without allowing them a hearing in their own defence—the *rampant guillotine* with fury not inferior to the deteſted inquiſition, travels with monſtrous and deſtructive ſtride from province to province, and the beſt blood of the nation ſtreams at the will, caprice or private reſentment of revolutionary judges.—Nay, to ſuch an unhappy pitch are things carried, that becauſe the prieſts of God's holy temple refuſed to ſubſcribe to every ſpecies of innovation, to immolate conſcience at the ſhrine of modern philoſophy, the whole frame of the chriſtian diſpenſation has been voted a weighty and uſeleſs burden, the public ſervice of the altar reviled, ridiculed, aboliſhed, and the ſanctuaries of the Moſt high profaned by new-fangled adorations, or occupied by money changers and plunderers.

One thing more I muſt mention in which the parallel holds ſtrong—in the time of the unhappy Charles, the godly *covenanted* brethren, who (ſanctified ſouls) wiſhed not the death of their King, or deſtruction of Monarchy, met in general aſſembly in Scotland, while they profeſſed all due obedience to and ſupport of the parliamentary operations, they took

took care to exert a co-ordinate kind of power with the parliament, and not only in a dictatorial manner gave them advice and directions how to proceed, but made counteracts to what they thought against their inclinations and interest: they made a sport of the sufferings of the King, and were every day obtruding new and insolent conditions on him, and at the end deserted and sold him for a stipulated price—they proceeded so far in their thirst of power, as to resolve among themselves, "that nothing might be done in parliament without consent of the general assembly." Look now to France and trace the progressive tyranny of Jacobin societies.

The heart sickens at the spectacle of horrors perpérated by the agents and emissaries of *confederated clubs* throughout France. The members of these political bodies did not fail to profess the utmost regard to humanity and justice—but mark the sequel—armed with power by a credulous people, they assumed an authority co-equal with the representative body—whoever dared to controvert their usurpation was prosecuted with the utmost animosity—whoever refused to pay homage to the jacobin cap (bonnet rouge) was pursued with the most bloody and vindictive rage: goaded by ambition, they ceased not till they had contrived the death of their King; even an amiable woman, the Queen, escaped not their snares. She also was brought to the scaffold, and met her fate with dignified composure,

compoſure, while a ruffian crew not only applauded the ſentence, but inſulted her laſt moments with impious denunciations. Whetted by applauſe of the mob, they afterwards ruſhed upon the moſt deſperate meaſures; members of convention themſelves trembled for their heads, ſhould they venture to oppoſe any decree, however unjuſt and ſanguinary, if it came *red hot* from the *Jacobin forge*; the moſt deſerving, learned and experienced of the aſſembly have been exterminated by the Guillotine, and the ferocious Jacobins ſtill lord it over moderation, humanity and juſtice. *Tom Paine* himſelf, with all his republican rage, has been ſtripped of his honors, and perhaps becauſe he would not wade as deep with them in blood as they directed, he is now likely to expiate with his life the injuries he has ſo boaſtingly offered to all legal governments; that he *voted not the death of the king*, is we ſuppoſe with them an indelible crime; and nothing we are confident will ſave him, except ſome degree of reſpect be paid to his character, as a citizen of America.

Let us think with ourſelves, what deſolation muſt have overſpread that part of the land, which hath felt the fury of ſuch miſcreants; what terror, diſtreſs and blood, muſt have followed the march of the *Guillotine*, involving in one general maſſacre, the aged and the young; women as well as men, without diſtinction of character, without trial, or the ceremony of juſtice, where only ſuſpected of moderation or loyalty.

Such is the happineſs of boaſted republicaniſm; ſuch the comforts of a government founded in terror and anarchy. Such will ever be the terrors and deſolation of civil war, ever more fierce and deſtructive when carried on by fellow citizens againſt each other, than when directed againſt a foreign foe.

I could wiſh to throw a veil over the proceedings of many among ourſelves—but as they were not aſhamed to boaſt a *brotherhood of ſentiment*, with the moſt furious of thoſe I have been deſcribing, they cannot be ſurpriſed at any ſeverity of reprehenſion, conſcious as they are, of having merited the reſentment and indignation of every honeſt man; for though in matters of political diſquiſition, an union of judgment or opinion, even where the public good is concerned, is a thing to be wiſhed, rather than expected; yet we know, wiſe and good men may differ on ſpeculative ſubjects without prejudice to themſelves, to each other or to the public. But the boiſterous clamours of modern faction roſe beyond all bearing—their reſiſtance to law, their contempt of every thing conſtitutional, evinced a determined plan, to puſh an unthinking people into extremes, to overturn public peace and order, and as we have grounds to ſuppoſe, by the aid of an *invading foe* to plunge us into the miſeries of rapine, wars and murder.

But, thanks to heaven and the vigilance of government, their views have been opened, their ſchemes of turbulence diſappointed, and

their

their numbers dwindled away—the *factious* few who yet meet in midnight counſel, are by all moderate, peace-loving, thinking men, diſcarded, diſcountenanced, and left to *bite* upon the *bridle*. Things are now brought into a better temper, the people behold their error—they ſee the deception practiſed on them by the ring-leaders and movers of ſedition, who incited them to outrage and riot, only to their utter ruin—it is now to be hoped that all parties will lay aſide animoſities, to advance the public good jointly—nay we truſt the few remaining *zealots* after *reform* (a word whoſe meaning, I ſpeak from knowledge, they are not yet agreed in among themſelves) will come to themſelves again, grow tired with ſwimming againſt the ſtream, ſpare us the horrors of anarchy and bloodſhed, and embrace the conſtitution as the great pillar of national ſtrength and proſperity.

To return more immediately to our own ſituation in the war, I will ſay to the calumnies of thoſe who call it a *war of kings*,—let any man read diſpaſſionately the *declarations* of his *majeſty*, in the face of Europe, relative to French affairs, and he muſt be convinced of the moderate, fair, and upright intentions of the Britiſh councils. If the daring inſolence of the uſurped authorities in France, had not forced the miniſtry to come to extremities, they had never done it: they held out all the helps and opportunities that could with national honor be ſubſcribed to, for the French to extricate themſelves from their preſent tyranny, and in order

to

to put an end effectually to the unhappy war, they offered the guarantee of Great Britain, for the eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy, and free conſtitution, for the conſervations of the lives of thouſands and the reſtoration of a laſting friendſhip among the neighbouring nations. Miniſters have been always, and are ſtill ready, upon the diſcovery of the leaſt ſincerity on the part of the French, to give their aſſent to all pacifick diſpoſitions, for the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and durable peace, on the great baſis of a government, ſanctioned by the full, pure, and ſimple conſent of the people; not ſtained by murders nor tainted by plots or mutual denunciations.

It depended on the French, inſtead of ruſhing into Holland with hoſtile aggreſſion, and inſulting the mediation and friendly counſels of Great Britain, to have cultivated the bleſſings of peace with their neighbours, by acceding to a conſtitutional ſyſtem of free government, applauded by Europe, and from which they would have drawn more ſolid advantages, than can ever be derived from a wild mobocracy, erected on the wreck of order and ſubordination, and rioting daily in blood. To thoſe who are eternally *boring* us with their wiſhes for peace, and driving adminiſtration at every riſk, even of national diſhonour, to get out of the war, becauſe it cannot fail of being ruinous and unfortunate to all parties; I will tell ſuch *croakers*, that his majeſty and his miniſters, filled with thoſe true ſentiments on the nation's real

intereſts

interests and dignity, which ought ever to guide the servants of the crown, have taken the necessary measures to extinguish the flames of discord and war, and give peace and tranquility to the nations, when the French usurpers shall offer due reparation for the insults offered to the British honor, and equivalent damages for the losses sustained by their piratical depredations. Disaffection, we see, is alert to propagate ill news; and the few checks a part of the combined armies have received, while arranging themselves into winter cantonments, are daily magnified by domestick enemies into ruinous defeats. We have all heard with grief, the evacuation of Toulon; but what is the language of the conventionists on that business—they have strong reasons to lament, "that one of the first "sea ports in France, the finest arsenal, a nu-"merous fleet with an incredible quantity of "naval stores of all kinds, are destroyed and "lost to them for ever;" the conduct of the British commanders in this affair, far from censurable, is highly praiseworthy—as there appeared no effectual disposition in the French of the south, to avail themselves of British moderation; as there were no means of bringing over an infatuated people to just and equitable sentiments of our sovereign's kindly interference; and as the French have ever made it a rule to damage the finest cities, when they have been hardly pressed elsewhere; it became a necessary duty in Lord Hood, to withdraw the British army and navy, with the captured ships

and

and immenſe ſtores belonging to the port, after providing for the ſecurity of the royaliſts on board, as far as circumſtances would allow—the ſhips of war brought off, the diverſions made in that quarter, where the enemy are confeſſedly reduced to great ſtreights for proviſions, (and Toulon will afford them no relief,) will not fail to give new activity to our operations, either by cruſhing the enemy in other remote quarters, or compelling them by diſtreſs and famine to ſue for a reaſonable peace; thus, far from thinking the evacuation of Toulon, a material diſcomfiture, I look upon it in quite a different light—and though theſe little ſucceſſes may further blind a furious faction, and puff them up with empty pretenſions; though they may be reſolved to prefer the total ruin of their country, to it's preſervation; though they oppoſe ſentiments of hatred and anarchy, to thoſe of proffered tranquility and legal government, in a word, though they chuſe rather to ſee the flames of war blaze in full fury, than to cement friendſhip or reſtore tranquility to ſurrounding nations, and pacify the European world; yet will his majeſty and his miniſters, continue in the ſame ſentiments of preferring peace to war. I again repeat it, every faithful ſubject muſt applaud the earneſtneſs of our government to open a channel of peace and accommodation, but there is no ſure method to compel eventually a ſafe and permanent peace but by keeping a ſufficient force both for defenſive and offenſive operations. Have not the hordes of ſavage

French

French threatened an *invaſion* of our country, to ſpread ruin and deſolation throughout our cities, lay waſte our fields, violate the chaſtity of our wives and daughters, and deſtroy the purity and comforts of domeſtick life? and which is the man then that will refuſe his approbation and ſupport to a warfare, undertaken only for the prevention of ſuch diſaſtrous ſcenes?

It will readily be granted that we ought to be prepared with vigour to oppoſe injury, as well as to be ready to propoſe or receive reaſonable methods of accommodation. To do the firſt, without a diſpoſition ſhown to the latter, I acknowledge would have been unjuſtifiable; to do the latter without the firſt, had been weakneſs and folly, and could proceed from nothing but a total ignorance of the plaineſt rules of political conduct, by which it has been long ſince eſtabliſhed, as a certain maxim, that the beſt way to *peace*, upon ſuch occaſions, is with the *ſword* unſheathed; becauſe a ruffian power that can ſuffer itſelf to *invade* or *attempt* the rights and poſſeſſions of others, will laugh at proffers of accommodation, when they ſee them unaccompanied with ſuch exertions, as prove a reſolution to defend thoſe rights and poſſeſſions by the whole national force, if reaſon and peaceable *declaration* cannot prevail.

One can ſcarce liſten with patience to the ravings of thoſe, who while they paint our expences, with evident exaggeration, inſinuate ſuſpicions of our old ally, the Dutch; we all know,

know, the united provinces, from the frame of their conſtitution, begetting delays and prolonging debates, are ſomewhat tardy in exertion; but this has not ariſen from any want of the ſenſe of their dangers, and the neceſſity of the moſt vigorous meaſures in the next campaign; like the *rouzed lion of old England*, after diſcomfiture or check, they now ſhew a warmth and vigour worthy of the occaſion; they have agreed unanimouſly upon ſuch augmentation of their navy and armies, as will make them by next ſpring formidable to the common foe, grown inſolent from momentary ſucceſſes. Beſides the expences relating to theſe augmentations, they have been at a great charge in providing magazines and ſupplies for the combined troops, and are putting the frontier places into a good poſture of defence.

Whoever reads the late reſolutions and repreſentations of the *ſtates general*, will ſee with how deep a concern, and in how pathetical a manner, they ſpeak of the calamities which threatened themſelves and the eſtabliſhed governments of Europe; declaring that anarchy and ruin muſt follow if all *the provinces* do not, in a caſe of ſuch neceſſity, conſent to act the part of men in a vigorous defence of the general cauſe, and ſtrenuouſly concur in what is indiſpenſibly eſſential to the common ſafety and preſervation, and without which the welfare, liberty and religion of the republic will be put to the venture; theſe and the many other unremitting diſpoſitions, which are making by our allies, to carry on the

war

war with redoubled ſtrength in the next campaign, amount to a certainty, that there will be no defection or dereliction of the combined intereſts, and that the other powers will more than keep pace with us, in the largeneſs of *expence* and preparation.

But the internal enemies of good government boaſtingly aſk what has been done by our armies and fleets, for all our *expence?* I will anſwer, the regicides of France have been compelled to relinquiſh many airy ſchemes, and to repeal many chimerical decrees; they have been diſappointed in their intended invaſion of Holland; in the courſe of the campaign, they have been expelled out of the Netherlands, and not only confined within their own territory, but deprived by the courage of the combined armies of many important fortreſſes; *Valencienes*, *Conde*, &c. have fallen and will be retained.

As for our fleets, the deſigns and views in ſending them out, were unexceptionably good; allowing that through the oppoſition of winds and weather, and through the *preſent* diſpoſitions of providence, ſucceſs has not attended the channel fleet nor favoured our intended deſcent in ſupport of the Royaliſts, ſurely no immediate misfortune has occurred; we are ſtill ready, nay acquiring new ſtrength for emergencies; no man in naval operations will argue from ſucceſs alone; they who know the uncertainty of ſeas, and winds and weather, and have too much underſtanding to think the event the only criterion of judging about the wiſdom of any

 project,

project, will not fail to applaud what was done upon ſuch good grounds, and with views ſo much for the honor and ſafety of the country; the channel fleet has ſcoured the coaſts of France and protected our numerous fleets of merchantmen from the depredations of deſperate cruiſers; and not only our own extenſive trade, and the veſſels of our allies, with their rich cargoes and ſtores of money have been protected and reſcued, but the commerce of the enemy has been annihilated in moſt parts.

As for the intended project of *invading* ſome part of theſe kingdoms, we are now, God be thanked, too well prepared to have a fear on that head. But ſtill we muſt not lay aſide caution.

No man will deny the fortunate effects of the intended expedition under the Earl of Moira; though the iſſue of the diverſion intended in favour of the Royaliſts, by that diſtinguiſhed officer, (our noble countryman) has not been favourable, as was wiſhed, yet the conſequences have been very material to the intereſts and ſecurity of the allies; the large detachments from Jourdain's army, and of his beſt troops, to cover the ſea coaſt from Cherbourg to St. Maloes, have ſtopped the execution of his deſigns againſt Flanders, and diſconcerted his plans of a winter campaign. Though numerous the hordes which he commands, the operations of his troops are now confined by the vigilance of our gallant York, and the energy of the Auſtrian generals, to deſolating the unhappy country in front of the advanced

advanced ports of the allies, and carrying off their little ſtore from the poor villagers.

We may reaſonably conclude, from the vaſt ſuperiority of forces, which the French compel to the field, that Jourdain had projected ſome grand enterprize againſt our brave troops to diſturb and harraſs them in their winter cantonments. There is poſitive information, that, before the orders from the convention arrived to detach ſuch a body of men into Britanny; the general counted ſo much on his numbers, and on the ſucceſs of the meaſures he had taken to overwhelm the advanced army, and ſeize ſome of our pricipal magazines, that he had wound the men up to the higheſt pitch of enthuſiaſm and ardour, by the promiſe of pillage and proviſions; he had even fixed the day which was to procure them plenty of all neceſſaries for the winter, at the coſt of the allies; if he ſucceeded in ſuch an attack, the unfortunate Flanders would doubtleſs have been irrecoverably ruined; but providence thought proper to ſet bounds to his exceſſes, to humble his flattering hopes by the terror of our armies in another quarter, and the ferocious Jourdain is obliged to think more of defending himſelf, than of forming any offenſive enterpriſes. He had boaſted of finding reſources and refitting his troops in the dominions of the allies through the winter; he had promiſed to ſtick at nothing for obtaining a ſure footing by projected conqueſts, living at diſcretion on the inhabitants of Flanders, and ſupplying his numerous armies out of the plunder

of

of a country, already exhausted by former intolerable exactions and savage treatment. Thus we find the whole attention of the French general was bent upon the object of turning his forces, and carrying all before him in that quarter, to relieve the wants of his troops. Is not this a strong confession of their distresses; an avowal that they have no means of procuring subsistence but by violence; no bread but what they can acquire by contributions and force?

How then have all these projects of incursion, these promises of success been disappointed? I will answer, by the measures pursued in the British councils, by our armaments on the coasts of the channel; for, whatever appearances have shewn themselves in the French ports to disturb us by those mighty preparations, which such a turbulent enemy may pretend she is making to invade one of these islands, we may be assured that her affright and terrors of a *visit* from us is very serious and general, from Calais to Brest.

The reputation and character of the general, who commands the troops for the expedition, is evidently acknowledged by the haste and eagerness with which the convention ordered numerous detachments of their best troops from Jourdain's army, and thus, that *arch-felon*, destined and appointed to execute the most barbarous instructions upon Brabant, such as threatened the most dismal consequences to the British allies, has sensibly experienced the overthrow

of

of his murderous ſchemes. Surely all this ſufficiently confirms the wiſdom of thoſe meaſures, which provided a force able to ſpread conſternation along the enemy's coaſts, and gives us the ſatisfaction to ſhew all Europe, that the French are in no wiſe equal to our vigorous ſtrength by ſea, that they will ſoon feel the fatal effects of aggreſſion, and in ſpite of their enterpriſing and implacable ferocity, muſt yield to the numerous calamities, which the enſuing campaign will bring upon them: for the over-ruling hand of providence, cannot fail to render abortive the ſchemes of a nation, big with the deſtruction of their peaceable neighbours, and to turn their vain boaſtings upon their own heads.

But though confiding in the vigilance and activity of the illuſtrious Moira, and the bravery of his troops, we may not only laugh at their threats of invaſion, as a matter of gaſconade, but be confident of effectual ſervice, perhaps on their own coaſts, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit a deſcent, yet it is prudent to be guarded for every poſſible event by numerous armaments; and here I will aſk the *political niggard*—are *expences* to be regarded for the maintenance of ſtrong fleets and armies, when ſet againſt the evils, diſorders, and diſtreſſes, which an attack of that ſort muſt occaſion, even ſuppoſing it repulſed from our doors?—but alas! who can calculate the utter ruin and deſtruction that muſt enſue, were ſuch a meaſure to ſucceed? by the vigour of preparation, all ſuch deſtructive

tive designs to disturb us at home, with all their ill consequences to trade and property have been prevented in every instance, and after all their boasted strength at Brest, &c. our fleet has made them disappear and shelter themselves in their own ports.—With respect to the squadrons detached to the West Indies, I believe there is no one who has any concern in trade, but will think it highly necessary to have a strong squadron and numerous garrisons in our several colonies, not only for preventing the fatal effects of misplaced ideas of equality among our negroes, and securing our commerce, which must otherwise be inevitably ruined by the depredations and violences of the French—but also for the purposes of conquest.—The advantages already gained at St. Domingo and in other colonies, offer a happy presage of what will be atchieved in those parts; for there, I will assert, we shall reap those advantages, which will amply reimburse our expences is the war.

As to the affairs of the East Indies, no man who is at all conversant in the politics of that country, can make any doubt but that all our broils with the native powers have originated in the intrigues and agency of the French; by reducing their power in that quarter we get rid of a dangerous neighbour and rival; we put an additional *bit and bridle* into the mouth of the restless Tippoo, and deprive him of the means of putting in execution the schemes he may have been projecting against our interests in that part of the world.

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He is an enemy of irreconcilable nature and hoſtile complexion, whoſe depreſſion, with the overthrow of the French power, offers permanent ſecurity and peace to our territories and trade in thoſe parts. By the reduction of *Pondicherry*, we ſecure the bleſſings of proſperity and commerce to the remoteſt poſterity.

I muſt here oppoſe, to timid or intereſted *croakers*, who wiſh to undervalue our conqueſts, a ſhort account of this important place. In 1674, the French being driven from other poſſeſſions by the Dutch, retired to Pondicherry, and there made a ſettlement, which flouriſhed conſiderably, and by the ability and talents of the French company's agents, increaſed rapidly in trade and in wealth; in 1689, it began to be fortified, and much againſt the will of the Dutch, who became jealous of the flouriſhing condition of the ſettlement, it was put into a reſpectable poſture of defence;—but a new war having broke out between the Dutch and French, the former came before the place in 1693, with nineteen ſail of ſhips, and landed an army of three thouſand men, with a numerous artillery—after a brave defence, the place was ſurrendered upon very honourable conditions—The Dutch being maſters thus of *Pondicherry*, loſt no time in encompaſſing it with new walls, they raiſed ſeven regular baſtions, and rendered it, at great coſt, one of the completeſt fortreſſes in the Eaſt Indies.

At the general peace in 1699, the place thus improved and ſtrengthened, was reſtored

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to the French company, who received orders from the government to put the place in the beſt condition poſſible againſt any future attacks; to effect this, a ſquadron was ſent from France, with a body of troops, ſeveral able engineers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and all things neceſſary for the ſecurity of Pondicherry againſt an enemy. Thus by progreſſive good management, in 1710, it was become one of the moſt conſiderable places in the Indies, poſſeſſed by the Europeans. It ſuffered afterwards by neglect and miſmanagement of the company; however at the breaking out of the war in 1756, it was again in a flouriſhing condition.

The country round Pondicherry is extremely well cultivated, and produces rice in abundance, ſo that there is hardly a place in the Indies of greater plenty, or where they have fleſh, fiſh and fowl, on more reaſonable terms. There cannot be a place better ſituated for trade than Pondicherry, lying in the midſt of the European ſettlements, and having all the bay of Bengal open before it. They have great quantities of ſilk, raw and manufactured, with perfumes, ſpices and diamonds; being but a ſmall diſtance from ſome of the fineſt mines of that country.

In 1761, after being inveſted by the Britiſh forces for a conſiderable time under Sir Eyre Coote, and making a vigorous reſiſtance until the 16th of January, the garriſon ſurrendered to that gallant officer. At the beginning of the ſiege, the town had ſix elegant gates, eleven fine baſtions for the defence of the walls,

walls, a regular citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred pieces of cannon placed on the walls, besides a large train of artillery, mortars, bombs and other military stores in the arsenal. After the reduction of the place, the fortifications were demolished, in retaliation of the conduct of the French, in the instance of Fort St. David's. Being given up again at the peace, the French continued to expend considerable sums, to raise new fortifications round the place, but it was not rendered so strong as before, when our brave troops, under Colonel Braithwait, reduced it lately to his majesty's dominion, with all the surrounding territory.

From this short account, we may venture to pronounce the acquisition of Pondicherry, as a matter of the utmost consequence; and as it is now fallen into the possession of a company at once enterprising and prosperous, we trust the French will never again be suffered to hold so valuable a settlement.

Let us now look to ourselves as *Irishmen*, and see how stands our own account in this political review. I believe every one will allow, that secure under the British flag, our trading vessels have almost to a ship, gone and returned from all quarters safe and prosperous; though we felt a temporary stagnation of trade, and decay of credit, yet are our products now rising in demand, our manufactures getting into fresh channels, and all the commodities of our country find a quick and ready market. To the exertions of his majesty's ministers in this country,

we owe this happy change of circumſtances, thoſe effectual means to enrich the nation, ſtrengthen our reſources and extend our commerce. To continue the application to ourſelves, I will affirm, there is nothing can now allay the progreſſive happineſs of *Ireland's conſtitution*, but the *rage* of *innovation*; *hot* zealots are dangerous in *trying experiments*, they know not where to ſtop. How narrowly we lately eſcaped *diſtraction at home*, and perhaps *invaſion* from abroad, is ſufficiently known. We obſerve that the motions of the body when they are too violent and go beyond certain bounds, generally prove fatal: So the fever, which poſſeſſes the minds of our *modern reformers*, inflames ſo much that they would rather puff, and ſwell and burſt, like the frog in the fable, than return to a cool and prudent regimen, or govern themſelves by thoſe chriſtian principles, which point to the general quiet and welfare of the ſtate.

We muſt indeed confeſs, that God's judgments upon the nations have been the *foreſt in their kind*, for ſome time back; they are like that, concerning which the prophet appeals to the *old men*, and to *all the inhabitants* of the land, whether there ever had been the like in *their* days or in *the days of their fathers*. Never was there a greater ſcourge to this nation, than the oppreſſive *protectorate*; but it ſeems as if God were heating the furnace *ſeven times hotter*, to puniſh the enormities of a neighbouring kingdom; the *chaſtening* to ourſelves, *for the preſent*,

present, is grievous, and perhaps we are under it, as *Job* was, *full of confusion*; for as we have been, like Israel of old, favoured with many privileges and advantages above other nations, so our abuse of them, our dissatisfaction and heart-burnings expose us to severe judgments; for the more rich and valuable a people's privileges are, the more provoking their discontents, and consequently the heavier are their punishments.

But we must not be cast down by crosses or disappointment, *like men without hope*: let us arise in our country's cause, and go forth with fortitude, and soon shall the *afflictions of a season be turned into joy and gladness and chearful feasts*; let us hold in remembrance, that as in the "prosperity and peace of our country we have comfort and peace, so in the trouble thereof we have trouble and must feel it." Those are unworthy the honour of Zion's sons, that think not themselves concerned in Zion's sorrows. If the *anger of the Lord is kindled against us*, because of our fretful, discontented spirit, quarrelling with his providence, diminishing every good and doubling every little cross; let us join, (for the day is near) with our gracious sovereign, in spirit and in truth, in humiliation, fasting and prayer to the Most High, who *humbleth and chasteneth us in love, as a man chasteneth his son*. Let us renew our repentance for the sins which have provoked his judgment; let us shew forth a patient submission to the will of heaven, and

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enter into firm reſolutions of better obedience to the laws under which we live. If we do thus, and *ſtrive together* manfully, we ſhall fear no evil, but ſhall be ſo fortified, *that if the enemy were to come on like a flood, the Lord will be with us in the day of battle; his ſpirit will lift up a ſtandard againſt them and ſmite them to the earth; he will in ſeaſon ſet the point of the ſword againſt all their gates, that their hearts may faint and their ruins be multiplied.*

It cannot be amiſs here to keep in mind the words of our glorious deliverer, *king William*, in his laſt ſpeech to his people, which deſerve to be written in letters of gold: " I ſhould think it, ſaid he, as great a bleſſing as could befal the country, if I could obſerve you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy, fatal animoſities which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy, as to any (even the higheſt) offences committed againſt me. Let me conjure you to diſappoint the hopes of your enemies by your unanimity; lay aſide parties and diviſions, let there be no diſtinctions among the people of the ſame country."

We are all of one blood, inhabit the ſame earth, breathe the ſame air, are lighted by the ſame ſun, depend on the ſame providence, and are all *ſheep of the ſame paſture*: what therefore God hath thus joined together, let neither folly nor malice, men nor devils put aſunder.

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To conclude, for I fear I have treſpaſſed on the reader, while diſaffected and ſeditious men are alarming weak and credulous minds, with recitals of defeats, diſgrace and incapacity, in the field and in the cabinet. I have felt it my duty, as a faithful ſubject, to undeceive the public, by fair and juſt ſtatements of our military operations. That the happy beginnings of conqueſt in the Eaſt Indies, and in the weſt, muſt terminate in the total defeat of the French, we may reaſonably truſt. The ſucceſs of our arms at Pondicherry will open the eyes of all who are not reſolved to be blind, to the merits of our *premier*, and every packet from abroad will give cauſe more and more to reverence and eſteem that great and good miniſter, whom providence has raiſed up for the ſecurity and permanency of our conſtitution; his merit and abilities need no other teſtimony than the open and avowed hatred of our enemies to the name and character of *Pitt*, of whom their nefarious connection ſpeak with as ſtrong a ſpirit of malice and rancour, as do the foes of virtue and monarchy in this kingdom.

I have uniformly maintained that it was ſhameful and unworthy of Iriſhmen to deſpond, or look gloomy for a partial check and temporary diſcomfiture: but it is plain, more than common pains were taken to frighten us into diſcontent, and to perplex our public counſels. We are now ruſhing forward in all quarters to glory and conqueſt, and our arms will ſoon be, as uſual, the terror and admiration of the world.

world. The fortunate events which are crouding upon us, have already dispelled the alarms of the people, roused the ancient *Irish valour*, and point out the way to victory and reward; and the noblest emulation appears through all ranks and conditions for the public service.

Heaven is pleased to confound the evil bodings of bad men, by crowning the measures of the minister with success, and promoting the honour of the British arms in distant quarters; and we may trust, the war in Europe also will soon wear a pleasing and favourable aspect; and victory follow victory, 'till *opposition* be vanquished abroad and at home.

Roused and stimulated by the love of my country, and highly rejoiced by the favourable accounts from both Indies, I could not refrain offering to the public my thoughts, which flow from a mind unbiassed by place, and unprejudiced by connexion; if they are worth perusal at this juncture, the public are welcome to them.

I have given way to the overflowing of an heart warmly interested in the glory and prosperity of my country and king, whom God long preserve, the guardian of his people's rights and happy constitution.

I have to add, what is strictly true, that these sheets were transmitted for publication, six weeks ago, but by an unfortunate event were mislaid, which caused their appearing thus late.

F I N I S.